THE MILITANT

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War Buildup Deepens Split in Ruling Class

By Dick Roberts

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In the course of the week, the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek* magazine, two of the most influential news publications in the country, broke ranks with Johnson's war. The *New York Times* itself delivered its sharpest editorial attack so far on White House policies.

And in the last two days Secretary of State Rusk has been confronted by bitter denunciation of the war from ranking members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee before national TV audiences.

This division takes place as the full extent of Washington's defeat in the Tet offensive is beginning to be assimilated — and to a certain extent admitted — by top policy makers. It occurs when casualty figures for American soldiers rose above the 500 level for the second week in a row.

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"One high official commented that the enemy's Tet offensive was 'a body blow.' Another remarked that Washington was 'still groggy.' Said a third: 'There's no disguising it — we got a real punch in the nose.' Others speak bitterly of Vietnam as a 'bottomless pit.'

"Even more pervasive is the comment, 'We don't really know where we stand yet. Our information is poor.'"

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By Les Evans

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And administration critics have by no means been calmed by the near-paranoid reaction of Lyndon Johnson himself. "Deeply preoccupied with military policy and battlefield reports," according to *New York Post* correspondent Robert J. Donovan, "[Johnson] mingles less and less with civilians outside the White House.

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The *Times* reported March 12 that "Demonstrators sacked a building of the Culture Ministry in the central section of the capital and fought policemen with debris and broken furniture . . ." Police brought out a water cannon and a multiple tear-gas launcher to disperse the crowds in the most violent upheaval in more than a decade.

The official Polish press has viciously attacked the students as "scum" and "hooligans." *Slowo Powszechne* and other papers have made openly anti-Semitic attacks on the demonstrators, charging that the protests have been led by Jews and listing the names of some of the students who had been arrested who were Jewish. The press claimed that the students were "well-to-do" reactionaries. The large turnout of workers yesterday seriously undercut the credibility of these slanders.

The "riots" began when Warsaw University students met March 8 to demand the reinstatement of two students expelled last Jan. 31 for demonstrating against the closing of a classic anti-Czarist

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Rose Karsner Cannon Is Dead, A Foremost Woman Trotskyist

By Evelyn Reed

Rose Karsner Cannon's life spanned four critical generations, extending from the heyday of capitalism to the beginnings of socialism. Along with serious setbacks to the world revolution, she witnessed enough victories to confirm her conviction that the hopes and aspirations of the oppressed for a better life through socialism would be fulfilled.

Rose was herself one of the poor and oppressed. She was born in Rumania in 1890 and migrated with her family to the United States, the overseas haven of golden promises, in the 1890s. The gates of Ellis Island were then wide open for European emigrants who provided a plentiful reserve of cheap labor.

In an interview on her 70th birthday, she told me, "We came to this country to flee oppression at home." But Rose quickly discovered that the longed-for liberation meant "freedom to work in sweat shops at substandard wages and to live in crowded, bug-infested ghetto tenements." College was for the rich and even a high-school education was beyond her reach.

Rose started her political life at the age of 18 by joining the New York Local of the Socialist Party. This was in 1908, an election year, and after listening to a speaker at a street corner rally, she signed a membership application. She came to know such leaders as George R. Kirkpatrick, author of "War, What For?"; Rufus W. Weeks, a Christian socialist; Art Young, the famous cartoonist; and Bertha Mailey, secretary of the Rand School for Social Science, in which Algernon Lee and W. H. Ghent were instructors.

Rose also became acquainted with the luminary of American socialism, Eugene V. Debs. "I attended all his mass meetings in the New York-New Jersey area where I went through the audience selling *The Masses*," she recalled. Rose came to know Debs more closely after her marriage to Dave Karsner, a newspaper man, who was a friend of Debs and his first biographer.

Explaining the magnetism that Debs exercised, she observed: "It wasn't the radicals alone; Debs was loved by the great mass of workers, some of whom were opposed to his ideas of socialism. But Debs exuded love for humanity and conveyed a sincerity and passion about his convictions for a better world for everyone, regardless of race, color or creed. He was among the first to take a vigorous public stand against discrimination of any type."

A year after joining the Socialist Party, Rose became secretary of *The Masses*, a semi-official party magazine which went through several changes in its career. At first it sought to popularize the ideas of the cooperative movement under the editorship of Thomas Seltzer, who later became a publisher. Seltzer brought together the celebrated group of artists and writers, including Art

(Continued on Page 5)

Memorial Meetings For Rose Karsner Cannon

As we go to press, memorial meetings for Rose Karsner Cannon have been scheduled in Los Angeles and New York.

The meeting in Los Angeles will take place at 3 p.m., Sunday, March 23, at Channing Hall, 2936 West Eighth Street.

The New York meeting will be held at 2:30 p.m., Sunday, March 17, at 873 Broadway.

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Fred Halstead Declares Plan to Visit Vietnam

NEW YORK, March 12 — Fred Halstead, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, announced here today that he is planning to take his campaign for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam to the American servicemen stationed in Vietnam and Japan. Halstead said he is planning the trip sometime this summer.

"Most GIs are fed up with the Vietnam war," the socialist candidate said at a press conference held at the Socialist Workers Party headquarters. "They want to get out of this mess. I want to go to Vietnam and show them that there is a presidential candidate who supports their welfare and wants to bring them home immediately.

"In the last few weeks the rate of American casualties has risen sharply and is still going up. And there are 6,000 troops in Khesanh. In the words of one GI stationed there, it is 'as if we were sitting in an electric chair waiting for someone to pull the switch.'

"What solution does the administration propose? It is considering sending as many as 200,000 more troops. But this won't save the American men there. This will only lead to greater escalation and LBJ will be responsible for the deaths of even more American men. The only solution for saving American men at Khesanh and throughout Vietnam, and to stop the death and destruction of Vietnam and the Vietnamese, is to get out of there — now!"

Halstead said he expects the American authorities to see that he is given the same courtesies as they have accorded other candidates who went to Vietnam, such as George Romney. "Servicemen have the right to consider the viewpoints of all candidates, and to vote for the candidate of their choice," Halstead said. "I fully expect some of my strongest support will come from servicemen."

The press conference was attended by reporters from WNEW-TV, NBC, UPI, AP, the *New York Times*, and UPI newsreel. Radio station WBAI-FM in New York also reported the press conference.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Some kind of proposed settlement of the eight-month copper strike appears in the offing. The March 11 *Wall Street Journal* reports the "unconfirmed announcement" that two major corporations, Phelps Dodge and Kennecott Copper, have reached tentative agreements with the 26 unions involved. All principals in the strike have been in continuous negotiations since Johnson called them all to Washington on March 4.

The Phelps Dodge package is said to provide wage and fringe benefits totaling $1.134 per hour over three years. The Kennecott Copper agreement is said to be for $1.07 per hour over three years. In both cases the agreements cover only miners, smelters and refiners, but not workers employed in other operations related to both companies' nationwide operations.

According to the same article, union representatives were to meet on March 11 to discuss the overall situation resulting from current negotiations. Philip Hawkins, correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal* who wrote the March 11 article, warns that many of the union leaders are likely to oppose the two agreements because they break the coalition bargaining pattern which the unions have been demanding.

Yet in a March 9 *New York Times* dispatch it was reported that the 26 unions had "decided to forego the key demand for uniform company contract if it can get satisfactory economic benefits."

Behind that *Times* dispatch is a long series of anti-union, strike-breaking actions on the part of the administration, the NLRB, the Congress, the national news media, and the corporations themselves. submit disputes with their municipal or state employes to binding arbitration . . ."

Before the present copper negotiations began, the NLRB had prepared petitions for an injunction against the unions, under a never-before-used section of the Taft-Hartley Act, making the demand for company-wide negotiations an "unfair labor practice." The NLRB is withholding applying for this vicious injunction pending the outcome of current negotiations.

Meanwhile the only combat assistance the copper workers have received from their union brothers is a short boycott of copper imports called last week by the East- and Gulf-Coast longshoremen. The rest of the labor movement, including that shining example of misleadership, George Meany, have contented themselves with token contributions to the strike fund.

* * *

On March 1 the Uniformed Sanitationmen of New York City accepted a binding arbitration award handed down by a commission set up by Governor Rockefeller. The award grants the garbage haulers an increase of $425 per year, $400 of it retroactive to July 1, 1967, $25 retroactive to Jan. 1, 1968. The new contract will run 15 months, instead of the usual 12 months.

During the nine-day garbage strike, union President John De Lury was jailed for 15 days for failing to send his men back to work under a Taylor Law injunction. The union was fined $80,000 and also lost its dues-checkoff privileges for 18 months.

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RIOT COMMISSION REPORT

Role of Police Force

By Dick Roberts

The oppression of black Americans is one of the two most important political issues in this nation today, along with the war in Vietnam. That incontestable fact lies behind the 608-page volume issued recently by President Johnson's "National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders."

The commission states on the first page of its report: "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal." The report then documents the social and economic exploitation of black people. In the remainder of the text, the commission purports to answer: Why did this happen? What can be done to change the situation?

But it is equally incontestable that representatives of the ruling capitalist class and their handpicked flunkeys have not and cannot admit either the true reasons for racial oppression or the real means to end it. The report is no exception to this rule. The central questions it asks remain unanswered.

Answer

The purpose of the report is to make continued capitalist rule of the black ghetto more effective while appearing to make it more palatable. It is the ruling class's answer to Black Power, couched, as it must be, in terms that appear to make concessions to blacks.

"Black Power," the commissioners write (p. 233), "meant independent action — Negro control of the political power of the black ghettos and its conscious use to better slum dwellers' conditions." That is the threat; the report is the commissioners' answer to this threat.

ORANGEBURG MASSACRE. Recent police attack on predominantly black campus in this South Carolina city resulted in three students being murdered and many wounded. Chief grievance of black communities is police brutality.

plement; and, in addition, the commission prepared several secret documents that have been distributed only to city and police officials.

The commissioners were well aware that police brutality has incited every ghetto rebellion and they were under considerable pressure to answer this fact.

At the same time, the maintenance of capitalist "law and order" requires force and violence, including the police. The law is essential to continued "public safety in the disruptive conditions of ghetto life," the commissioners opine.

Consequently, it was even more important to the commissioners to whitewash past actions of the po-

lieutenant wearing civilian clothes. Harlem children attending a summer school in the Yorkville section that day were sprayed with a water hose by a white building superintendant who, the children say, yelled racist slurs at them.

Eyewitnesses

"Some of the teen-agers chased the super into his building.

"Schoolchildren eyewitnesses report that James Powell, who they do not believe was directly involved in the dispute with the janitor, ran into the building to avoid the excitement. Upon emerging he was shot twice by Police Lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan, a man who holds 27 citations, including some for disarming crown

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Fanin of New Mexico concentrates entirely on vicious diatribes against the unions. He has already prepared special legislation to stop the copper strike for 90 days. He is also working on an antilabor law aimed primarily at public employes. In the Feb. 27 *Congressional Record,* he introduced an editorial from the *New York Times,* an excerpt of which I quote:

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The award made no changes in working conditions or in equipment. One of the main demands of the strikers was for new equipment which would lessen the dangers of the job. During the last year there have been 3,600 serious injuries to workers and several deaths. De Lury, in commenting on the award, said it was "only part payment. What we didn't get this year we'll get next." He also pledged that the union would never again submit a contract dispute to arbitration.

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The strike of teachers which closed Pittsburgh schools for seven days has been settled. The Pittsburgh Board of Education has agreed to call a union representation election by the first week in April. The teachers will have three choices in this election — the Pittsburgh Federation of Teachers (AFL-CIO), another teachers organization (probably an affiliate of the National Education Association) or no union at all.

The Board has agreed that there would be no reprisals against any of the 400 striking teachers. Six Pennsylvania legislators have agreed to introduce legislation legalizing union representation

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The length and importance of the report do not make it either possible or desirable to answer all the questions it raises in a single article. In this and a series of future articles in *The Militant,* we hope to deal with these questions.

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The pivotal subject of the Riot Commission report, contrary to publicity which has surrounded it, is the role of the police. This is discussed in practically every chapter; it is the subject of a special supplement; and, in addition, the commission prepared several secret documents that have been distributed only to city and police officials.

The commissioners were well aware that police brutality has incited every ghetto rebellion and they were under considerable pressure to answer this fact.

At the same time, the maintenance of capitalist "law and order" requires force and violence, including the police. The law is essential to continued "public safety in the disruptive conditions of ghetto life," the commissioners opine.

Consequently, it was even more important to the commissioners to whitewash past actions of the police, make attempts to present the police in ways more acceptable to the public, and recommend "more effective" police techniques.

Repression

"To many Negroes," the commissioners admit on page 206, "police have come to symbolize white power, white racism and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes."

But on the same page they state, "Harlem, Watts, Newark and Detroit — all the major outbursts of recent years — were precipitated by *routine arrests* of Negroes *for minor offenses* . . ." (Emphasis added.) This duplicity on the role of police pervades the report.

No one can disagree that "minor offenses"—if any offenses at all—were involved in the incidents which precipitated uprisings. But to pass the treatment of the black victims in these cases off as "routine" is to condone and sanction criminal racist police brutality.

Harlem Outbreak

To take only the first case mentioned, the Harlem outbreak of July 16, 1964, the commissioners state that "the incident began routinely." Actually, it began with the murder of James Powell, a 15-year-old black youth, by Police Lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan, a man who holds 27 citations, including some for disarming grown men wielding firearms . . .

"The killer, Gilligan, claims the boy came at him with a knife. Witnesses say they saw no knife. Subsequently it was reported that a small knife (3½ inches) was 'discovered' in a gutter in the area. Police refused to let the press photograph the 'evidence,' and instead a story was planted in the daily press to the effect that the victim had left home that morning with 'two knives' in his pocket." (*The Militant,* July 27, 1964).

Admissions

Elsewhere in the report, the riot commissioners dutifully record that "some 40 percent of the prior incidents involved allegedly abusive or discriminatory police actions . . . Police actions were also identified as the final incident preceding 12 of the 24 disturbances.

"Again, in all but two cases the police action which became the final incident began routinely." (The two exceptions were in Cambridge and Houston.) (pp. 120 and 166)

Even more, the commissioners conducted a study of black grievances: "Police practices were, in

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Paul Boutelle On Black Panel In Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES — Four black militants participated with Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers vice-presidential nominee, in a symposium March 8 on the political problems facing black people in this election year. Over 90 people attended the meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

the administration, the NLRB, the Congress, the national news media, and the corporations themselves. Scarcely a day passes that one or another senator or representative does not "enter into the record" a diatribe against the strikers and their unions, generally complete with excerpts from the capitalist press. Mike Mansfield of Montana has cried quarts of crocodile tears over the "poor strikers and their families" but he always interlards his remarks with attacks on the strike because of tax revenue his state has lost.

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Israel Jails Socialist Arab Student

Khalil Toame, an Arab student leader and socialist at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, was sentenced on March 12 by an Israeli military court to nine months in prison. Toame, a member of the Israeli Socialist Organization and secretary of the Arab Students Committee on the campus, was charged with having "harbored a subversive, Ahmad Khalifa. Khalifa was sentenced to two years in prison for "activities endangering the security of Israel."

The Israeli Socialist Organization has both Arab and Jewish members, and is opposed to the recent military annexation by Israel of Jordanian, Egyptian and Syrian lands.

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* * *

The United Mine Workers expelled its largest affiliate, District 50, on March 6 because this catch-all union had begun organizing workers in the nuclear field, which is looked upon as a rival for the coal industry in producing heat and power.

W. A. Boyle, the UMW president, is quoted as saying, in announcing the expulsion, "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a thankless child."

District 50 was organized by John L. Lewis in the 1930's to take in unorganized workers in many fields. It now has a membership of 220,000. With the expulsion of this large segment, the UMW, once a large and militant leader in the organized labor movement, now has only 120,000 members.

—Marvel Scholl

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LOS ANGELES — Four black militants participated with Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers vice-presidential nominee, in a symposium March 8 on the political problems facing black people in this election year. Over 90 people attended the meeting sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum.

The lively discussion, which continued past midnight, went into such topics as: community control of schools; whether the ruling class of the U.S. would give up its control of the black community peacefully; and the relevance of socialism to black militants.

Participating with Paul Boutelle were Mrs. Margaret Wright, chairman of the United Parents Council; Tommy Jacquette of Operation Bootstrap, a community organizing project; Mrs. Glory Roberts of the Black Congress and the Peace Action Council; and Frank Greenwood of the Afro-American Cultural Association.

A number of people at the meeting became endorsers of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign, including Tommy Jacquette and Woodrow Coleman, the leading black organizer of the Peace and Freedom Party in the Los Angeles area.

important to the commissioners to whitewash past actions of the police, make attempts to present the police in ways more acceptable to the public, and recommend "more effective" police techniques.

Repression

"To many Negroes," the commissioners admit on page 206, "police have come to symbolize white power, white racism and white repression. And the fact is that many police do reflect and express these white attitudes."

But on the same page they state, "Harlem, Watts, Newark and Detroit — all the major outbursts of recent years — were precipitated by *routine arrests* of Negroes *for minor offenses* . . ." (Emphasis added.) This duplicity on the role of police pervades the report.

No one can disagree that "minor offenses"—if any offenses at all—were involved in the incidents which precipitated uprisings. But to pass the treatment of the black victims in these cases off as "routine" is to condone and sanction criminal racist police brutality.

Harlem Outbreak

To take only the first case mentioned, the Harlem rebellion in the summer of 1964, here is how the precipitating events are described in the Riot Commission report:

"On July 16, in New York City, several young Negroes walking to summer school classes became involved in a dispute with a white building superintendent. When an off-duty police lieutenant intervened, a 15-year-old boy attacked him with a knife. The officer shot and killed the boy.

"A crowd of teenagers gathered and smashed store windows. Police arrived in force and dispersed the group." (p. 36) This, remember, falls under the category of "routine arrests . . . for minor offenses." Here is how the same incident was described by *Militant* reporter Robert Vernon:

"The immediate cause of the outbreak was the killing on July 16 of a 15-year-old Negro boy, James Powell, by a white police a man who holds 27 citations, including some for disarming grown men wielding firearms . . .

"The killer, Gilligan, claims the boy came at him with a knife. Witnesses say they saw no knife. Subsequently it was reported that a small knife (3½ inches) was 'discovered' in a gutter in the area. Police refused to let the press photograph the 'evidence,' and instead a story was planted in the daily press to the effect that the victim had left home that morning with 'two knives' in his pocket." (*The Militant,* July 27, 1964).

Admissions

Elsewhere in the report, the riot commissioners dutifully record that "some 40 percent of the prior incidents involved allegedly abusive or discriminatory police actions . . . Police actions were also identified as the final incident preceding 12 of the 24 disturbances.

"Again, in all but two cases the police action which became the final incident began routinely." (The two exceptions were in Cambridge and Houston.) (pp. 120 and 166)

Even more, the commissioners conducted a study of black grievances: "Police practices were, in some form, a significant grievance in virtually all cities and were often one of the most serious complaints." (p. 144) A chart on page 150 shows that complaints by black people against police "practices" lead the list of major complaints by far.

But all of this is merely to lead to pages of recommendations on how to improve "public relations" between the police departments and the ghettos; how police can become more sophisticated in "riot control"; why it might be a good idea to add a few black policemen onto the force.

Nowhere is the only real and just solution offered: to place complete control of the police in the black community in the hands of the black community itself. Black community control of its own police — this is the answer to the facts and figures on the police in the Riot Commission report.

CHOICE 68 Roundup

In a recent article in the University of Buffalo *Spectrum*, Phil Semas from the College Press Service explains why the directors of CHOICE 68 placed Fred Halstead's name on the ballot. He wrote, "So, although a number of doves made the ballot almost automatically, the directors decided that might not be enough to involve radicals. As an answer they added Fred Halstead, who is running for President from the Socialist Workers Party on a platform of black power and immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

"Dick Beahrs, student body president at Berkeley, gives another reason why the ballot may interest

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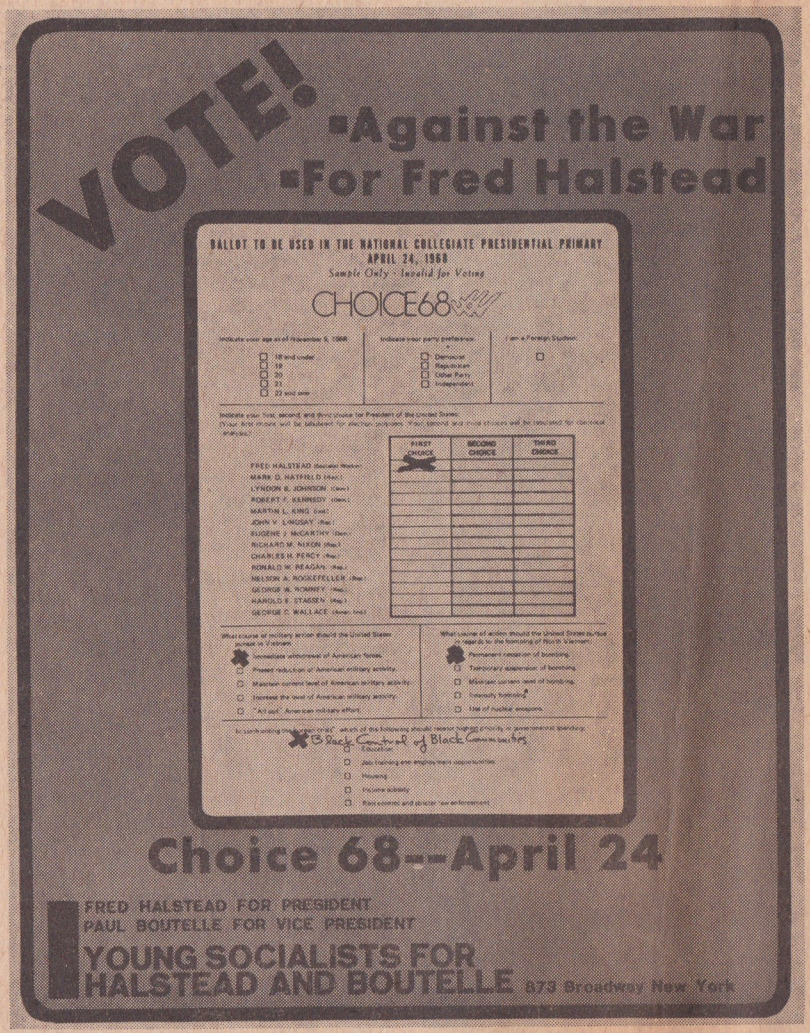

CHOICE 68 POSTER. X's mark Fred Halstead the choice for President, and indicate votes for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and permanent cessation of bombing of North Vietnam. On "urban crisis" referendum, poster urges write-in vote for "Black control of the black communities." See advertisement this page.

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Vol. 32 - No. 12 345 Monday, March 18, 1968

. . . Ruling Class Split

(Continued from Page 1)

ultimate futility of genocidal warfare.

The Pentagon minority opts for toning down the war, possibly withdrawing U.S. troops from undefendable areas in the countryside to the main cities and seeking some sort of compromise with Hanoi. They oppose further escalation. And with minor modifications, this is the solution being offered by most other capitalist critics of the administration's war plans.

"If the events of the past six weeks in Vietnam prove anything," the *New York Times* opined editorially March 11, "they demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that the policy of military escalation in Southeast Asia which the President and his Pentagon advisers have followed for more than three years is futile — and worse . . .

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Critical Dilemma

The most significant thing about these attacks on Johnson's policy is not the alternative solutions they offer, but the critical dilemma of Washington's position they expose. Here's how *Newsweek* begins its 16-page indictment:

ations and withdraw its major forces from sparsely populated borders of South Vietnam . . . Uninspiring as it is . . . stalemate does seem a goal worth pursuing."

"Uninspiring" is hardly the word for it; but it is applicable not only to *Newsweek's* proposal, but the ones hinted at in the *New York Times*, in the Pentagon minority report, and the criticisms of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee members.

After demonstrating beyond refutation the impossibility of military victory, these spokesmen for capitalism suggest military stalemate. They apparently leave out of consideration the determination of the Vietnamese people to fight for their country and pay no heed whatsoever to the lives and safety of the American soldiers themselves.

There is only one sound answer to the situation: immediate and total withdrawal of all American forces. In a New York press conference this morning, Fred Halstead, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, argued quite reasonably that the position of the antiwar movement was not only a moral stance but the only practical and realistic alternative being offered the American people.

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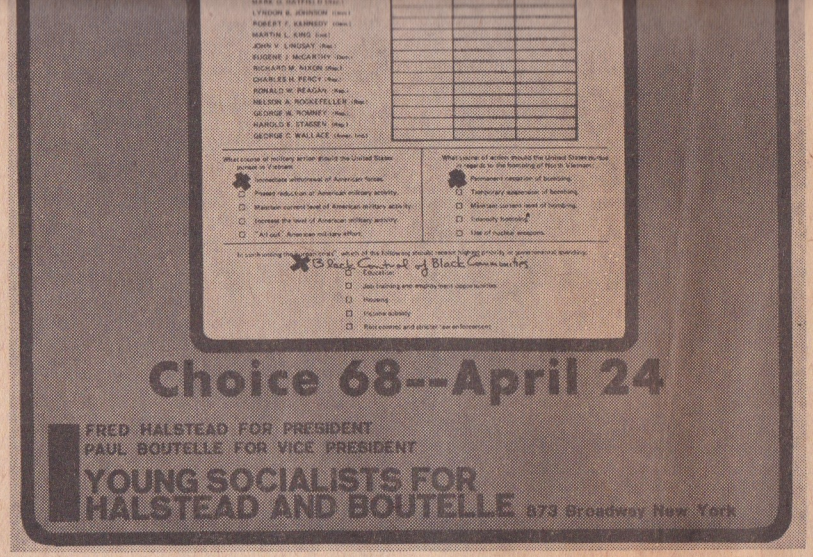

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A cocktail party to raise money for the campaign fund was held at the home of a professor from Case Western Reserve University. In Akron a meeting was held for Halstead at the Unitarian Church, sponsored by the Peace and Freedom group there.

In his Texas campaign tour, which followed Ohio, Halstead first stopped in Houston. Meetings had been arranged at the University of Houston and at Rice University by the Houston Committee for Halstead and Boutelle.

At his next stop, Dallas, Halstead was the guest of the Peace and Freedom Center, a local headquarters for the antiwar and black liberation struggle in Dallas. His main meeting was at Southern Methodist University, sponsored by the campus Young Democrats. The March 6 *SMU Campus* reported that Halstead's tour "is part of the SWP program to have Halstead-Boutelle on the Novem-

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The Bay Area YSHB had sent out a mailing to college student body presidents asking them to set up meetings for Halstead and Boutelle. As a result of this mailing a meeting of about 100 students was held for Boutelle at the College of San Mateo. Boutelle received an honorarium from the school of $125.00, which will help defray campaign expenses. The president of the student body at this school is an endorser of the Halstead-Boutelle ticket, and is working on the CHOICE 68 referendum. At the meeting, Boutelle was interrupted several times with applause from the audience.

Boutelle also spoke to 150 students at Chico State College and to two classes at Chico High School. In "Provo Park" opposite Berkeley High School, Boutelle spoke to 300 enthusiastic young people. The report from Berkeley says, "The response was excellent, many persons staying to talk with Paul after the meeting. In all, 39 people signed up as endorsers of Halstead and Boutelle, 20 of whom

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A few paragraphs later, *Newsweek* contends: "Even now, no one will officially admit the one grim truth that recent events have underlined: the war cannot be won by military means without tearing apart the whole fabric of national life and international relations."

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Fred Halstead has just completed a successful tour of Ohio, where he spoke for 14 different campus or community groups. At Kenyon College in Gambier, Ohio, over 200 students turned up to listen to Halstead—out of a student body of 700! Halstead also spoke twice to students at Kent State College, once at an indoor meeting and again before 200 students picketing the Dow Chemical Company recruiter on campus.

He spoke to 75 students at Cayahoga Community College, to 70 at a meeting at Cleveland State College sponsored by the school newspaper, to 75 to 100 students at Western Reserve University, to students at Cleveland Heights High School and to the board of deacons of black nationalist "Church of the Nation of Israel."

A meeting for Halstead at Wilmington College was chaired by Bill Evans, chairman of the Wilmington Peace and Freedom Committee and an endorser of the Halstead-Boutelle campaign. Over 80 students and faculty attended. Finally, he spoke at Antioch College to about 100 students. According to John Studer from Antioch, there are now active Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle groups in formation at both Wilmington and Antioch Colleges.

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In Austin a press conference produced TV and radio broadcasts on Halstead's visit throughout the day. The meeting for him at the University of Texas was attended by over 200 students.

Paul Boutelle, SWP candidate for Vice President, received a friendly response to campaigning in the San Francisco Bay area. Guy Gregory, reporter for the Afro-American newspaper, the *Sun-Reporter*, described his impressions of Paul Boutelle as follows: "Boutelle, a personable young man, seemed calm and sure of his statements and gave me the impression he knew what he was talking about. Seldom have I interviewed a politician who looked me in the eye as he answered questions and gave straightforward answers."

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Elijah Turner, Chairman of Oakland CORE and national treasurer of CORE shared the platform with Boutelle and Tembadza Chijovanyika, a Rhodesian student member of the Tricontinental Progressive Student Association, in a memorial meeting for Malcolm X at the Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco Feb. 24.

●

The Halstead-Boutelle campaign committee recently received a letter from a student from the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, who wrote: "Our campus is sponsoring a CHOICE 68 election. Your ticket is entered on the ballot, but unfortunately no one knows who you are or where you stand. An appearance of your candidate on campus would be extremely helpful."

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"To the east, Route 9 has been cut by the North Vietnamese who have prepared scores of ambush sites. And military planners estimate that a westward retreat into Laos would result in the destruction of at least one of the five Marine battalions based at Khesanh."

Newsweek then points out that the U.S. military is utterly unable to determine where the Vietnamese will strike next—whether at Khesanh, throughout the I Corps area, or in Saigon: "The most chilling prospect of all is that the Communists may try to launch simultaneous attacks in both I Corps and Saigon."

"It now appears," *Newsweek* concludes, "that the U.S. must accept the fact that it will never be able to achieve decisive military superiority."

As an alternative, *Newsweek* suggests that Washington "stop its large-scale search-and-destroy oper-

ple.

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Brochure:

A Letter to GIs

By Fred Halstead

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April Days of Protest

NEW YORK — The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is receiving a steady stream of reports on activities for the April 26 student Student Strike set for April 26 and the International Day of Protest, April 27. Both actions promise to be massive repudiations of Johnson's aggression in Vietnam. Following are selections from progress reports and correspondence received by the SMC national office.

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In New York the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee has filed for a parade permit for twin marches April 27 down Broadway and Fifth Avenue to converge at Sheep Meadow in Central Park. Buttons are already being sold and leaflets are being distributed. The Parade Committee plans to get out two million leaflets before April 27. Volunteers are needed at 17 East 17th Street, Phone 255-1075.

●

In Seattle, Wash., the Seattle Committee to Build the April Days of Protest and Resistance, a broad coalition of groups, has made plans for an April 27 march to the World's Fair Center, a rally there and a folk-rock dance. The committee has called a Washington State antiwar conference for March 23 to make further plans. An antiwar teach-in at the University of Washington campus March 1 drew 4,000 participants. Speakers included former Green Beret Donald Duncan; Edward Keating, former publisher of *Ramparts;* and Peter Camejo, senatorial candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

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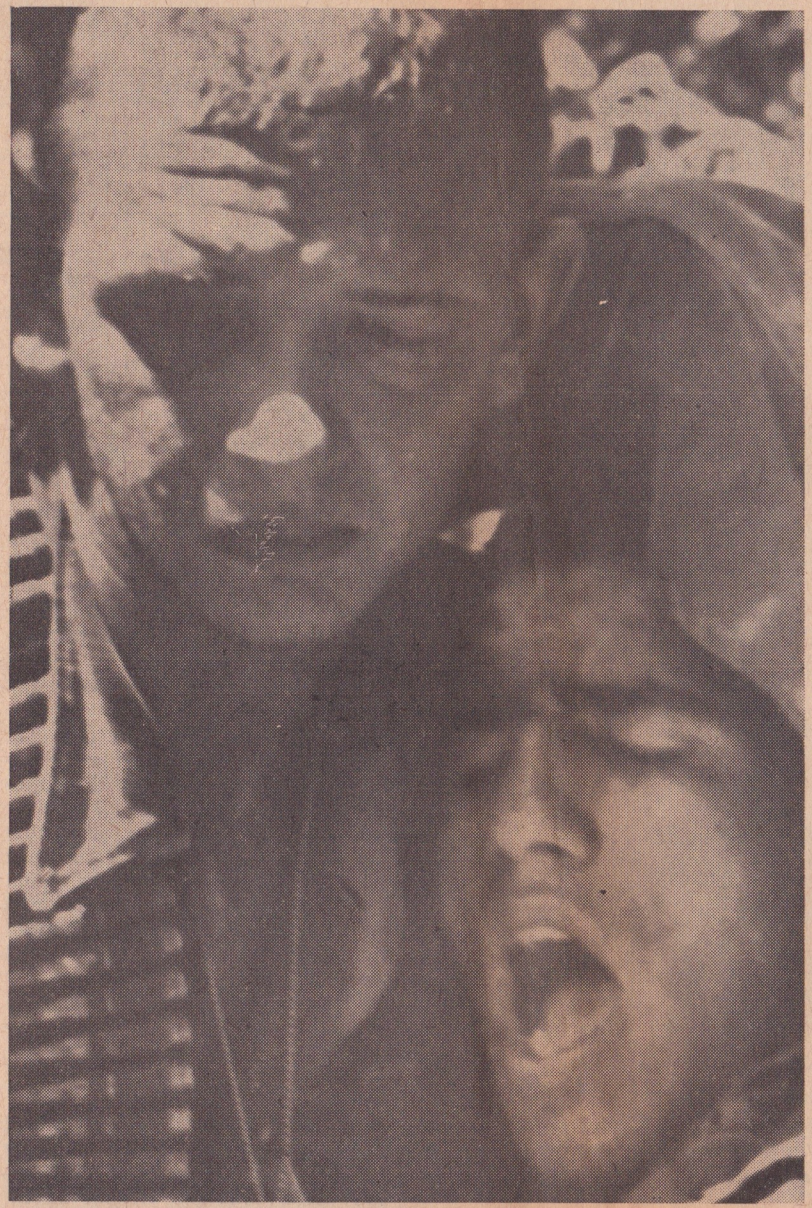

BRING THEM HOME! American GIs and Vietnamese people are victims of Washington's war in Vietnam.

... Turmoil in Poland

(Continued from Page 1)

play, "Dziady," by 19th century poet Adam Mickiewicz.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported (March 10-11) the main speech at the meeting, made by a student leader:

"In fighting for Mickiewicz' play we are fighting for independence and freedom and for the democratic traditions of our country. In so doing we are also fighting for the working class for there is no bread without freedom, just as there is no education without freedom."

Le Monde reported what happened next:

"A resolution on these subjects was adopted almost unanimously by raised hands and acclamation...

"It was then that six buses came into the university area bringing onto the grounds 'workers' delegations' — in fact shock commandos from certain factories and secret police agents in civilian clothing who tried to break up the demonstration. But the groups re-formed soon in front of the rectors' office with cries of 'Long live the writers!' 'Freedom of speech!' 'Democracy!' "

Le Monde continues: ". . . police of the special forces, helmeted and armed with clubs, penetrated into the university and attacked the demonstrators. The assault was brutal. Young girls in particular were clubbed, thrown to the ground and kicked. Several students who were wounded in the head had to be hospitalized."

That night the two well-known dissident Communist intellectuals, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, were arrested. Both are teaching assistants at Warsaw University. They were both jailed in 1965 for their opposition to the repressive and conservative policies of the leadership of the Polish Communist Party, and were only recently released.

Rather than originating among "reactionary" students, the radical opposition at the university comes from the left, from inside the Communist Party itself. This is testified to by the March 12 purge of three high government officials whose sons led the demonstrations.

Modzelewski was a member of the party until he was expelled for his ideas in 1964. He too is the son of a high ranking government and party official who was Foreign Minister from 1947 to 1951. He and Kuron, who is also the son of a veteran Communist, distributed an "Open Letter" to the Communist Party in 1964 which called for the establishment of workers' democracy and a return to proletarian internationalism. Their views closely parallel those of Trotskyism.

It is reported that they were part of an organized group led by Ludwik Hass, a well-known Polish Trotskyist who spent 17 years in Stalin's labor camps. Hass, who is a historian, was arrested shortly after Modzelewski and Kuron in January 1966, and spent nine months in prison for his Trotskyist views.

Another major figure in the student ferment is Leszek Kolakowski, a noted intellectual and professor of philosophy at Warsaw University. Kolakowski was expelled from the CP in Oct. 1966.

The struggle for socialist democracy has been mounting among university students since 1965, initiated by radical Communist teachers and intellectuals and carried on by Communist youth after the initiators were jailed or victimized for their forthright criticism of the party bureaucrats. Now this movement has taken to the streets and workers are beginning to participate. It is too soon to predict the outcome of this struggle, but it is plain from the brutal government reaction that the bureaucrats know that their rule is potentially at stake.

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More than 100 students participated in a statewide conference at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, March 9 to plan activities for the April 26 student strike and the day of protest to follow. Big demonstrations will be held April 27 in Cincinnati, Cleveland and Columbus, and organizing has begun around the April 24 CHOICE 68 collegiate presidential poll, which contains a referendum on the war.

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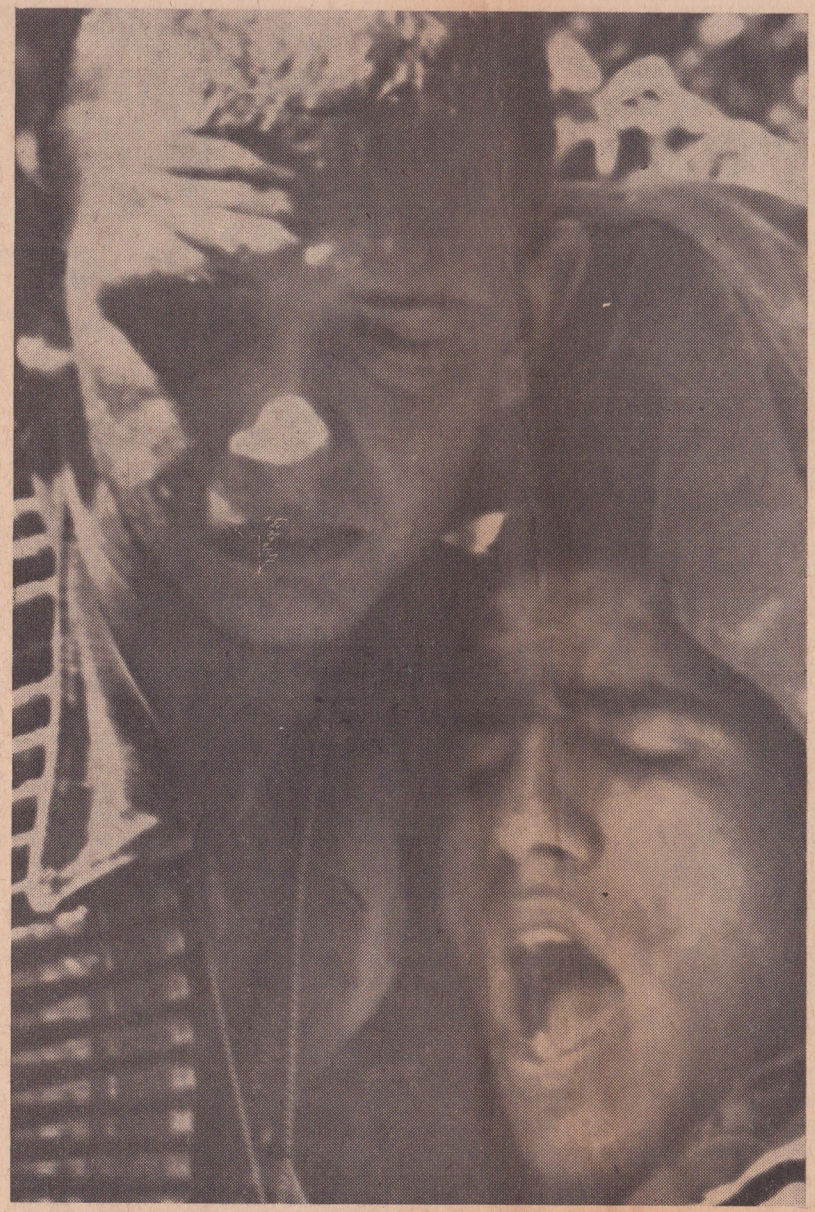
A regional Student Mobilization Committee conference will be



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"A resolution on these subjects was adopted almost unanimously by raised hands and acclamation...

"It was then that six buses came into the university area bringing onto the grounds 'workers' delegations' — in fact shock commandos from certain factories and secret police agents in civilian clothing who tried to break up the demonstration. But the groups re-formed soon in front of the rectors' office with cries of 'Long live the writers!' 'Freedom of speech!' 'Democracy!' "

Le Monde continues: ". . . police of the special forces, helmeted and armed with clubs, penetrated into the university and attacked the demonstrators. The assault was brutal. Young girls in particular were clubbed, thrown to the ground and kicked. Several students who were wounded in the head had to be hospitalized."

That night the two well-known dissident Communist intellectuals, Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, were arrested. Both are teaching assistants at Warsaw University. They were both jailed in 1965 for their opposition to the repressive and conservative policies of the leadership of the Polish Communist Party, and were only recently released.

Rather than originating among "reactionary" students, the radical opposition at the university comes from the left, from inside the Communist Party itself. This is testified to by the March 12 purge of three high government officials whose sons led the demonstrations.

Modzelewski was a member of the party until he was expelled for his ideas in 1964. He too is the son of a high ranking government and party official who was Foreign Minister from 1947 to 1951. He and Kuron, who is also the son of a veteran Communist, distributed an "Open Letter" to the Communist Party in 1964 which called for the establishment of workers' democracy and a return to proletarian internationalism. Their views closely parallel those of Trotskyism.

It is reported that they were part of an organized group led by Ludwik Hass, a well-known Polish Trotskyist who spent 17 years in Stalin's labor camps. Hass, who is a historian, was arrested shortly after Modzelewski and Kuron in January 1966, and spent nine months in prison for his Trotskyist views.

Another major figure in the student ferment is Leszek Kolakowski, a noted intellectual and professor of philosophy at Warsaw University. Kolakowski was expelled from the CP in Oct. 1966.

The struggle for socialist democracy has been mounting among university students since 1965, initiated by radical Communist teachers and intellectuals and carried on by Communist youth after the initiators were jailed or victimized for their forthright criticism of the party bureaucrats. Now this movement has taken to the streets and workers are beginning to participate. It is too soon to predict the outcome of this struggle, but it is plain from the brutal government reaction that the bureaucrats know that their rule is potentially at stake.

Developments in Czechoslovakia

By George Novack

The clash between the supporters of President Antonin Novotny and their opponents in Czechoslovakia is becoming aggravated with each passing day. The controver-

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ipated in a statewide conference at Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio, March 9 to plan activities for the April 26 student strike and the day of protest to follow. Big demonstrations will be held April 27 in Cincinnati, Cleveland and Columbus, and organizing has begun around the April 24 CHOICE 68 collegiate presidential poll, which contains a referendum on the war.

●

A regional Student Mobilization Committee conference will be held March 23 at the University of Pennsylvania, for students from Eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey.

●

The Philadelphia Mobilization Committee has announced that the mass march there April 27 will convene at the Jewish War Memorial (16th and Parkway) around noon and march to the Revolutionary War Cemetery, where a rally will be held.

●

One hundred black people met at Wayne State University in Detroit March 2 for a Detroit regional conference of the National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union. The meeting discussed plans for building the International Student Strike. NBAWADU will hold a national conference April 12-14 in New York City.

●

More than 150 students from high schools in the New York City area attended a citywide high school conference March 9. The conference set plans for high school participation in both the student strike and the April 27 demonstration in New York.

●

DELHI, N.Y. (Delhi Tech) — "We are planning a student strike for April 26 along with other college campuses across the nation. This will be our first antiwar demonstration at Delhi Tech . . ."

●

ST. PAUL, Minn. (Macalester College) — "The Macalester Committee for Peace in Vietnam voted unanimously to participate in

BRING THEM HOME! American GIs and Vietnamese people are victims of Washington's war in Vietnam.

April 26 with a rally at noon and teach-in during afternoon classes . . . Minnesota Mobilization is organizing a mass regional demonstration for April 27 . . ."

●

DODGE CITY, Kan. (St. Mary of the Plains College) — "If possible could you send me information concerning antiwar demonstrations and draft deferment. . ."

●

BOWLING GREEN, Ohio (Bowling Green State U.) — "I support the aims of the Student Mobilization Committee . . . I'm a member of SDS and the Ohio Peace Action Committee, and I want to start extensive leafleting in Bowling Green . . ."

●

KINGSTON, R.I. (University of Rhode Island) — "As part of our big smash week or 10 days, April 21-30, we are having a campus teach-in on the war in Vietnam..."

●

NEW YORK, N.Y. (Rhodes High School) — "I go to Rhodes School in N.Y.C. and our whole school is intending to strike on April 26..."

●

In Italy, the weekly paper *La Sinistra* (The Left), widely read among radical students, printed in its March 9 issue the full text of a letter from the Student Mobilization Committee calling for support to the International Student Strike.

●

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.—"Not much to report on April 26 as of yet, but plans are definitely in the works at Rutgers, the State University in New Brunswick, and Princeton University in Princeton, N.J."

●

SOUTH FALLSBURGH, N.Y. (Sullivan County Community College) — "On April 26 Sullivan County Community College Students for Peace is sponsoring a teach-in to protest the war . . ."

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Developments in Czechoslovakia

By George Novack

The clash between the supporters of President Antonin Novotny and their opponents in Czechoslovakia is becoming aggravated with each passing day. The controversies which led to Novotny's replacement as first secretary of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party by Alexander Dubcek quickly passed beyond the confines of the Central Committee and upper party circles and have drawn one segment of the people after another into heated nationwide debates.

The already weakened position of Novotny and his orthodox Stalinist faction has been further shaken by the flight of Major General Jan Sejna to the United States. He was the secretary of the Communist Party unit of the Ministry of National Defense and a member of the presidium of the National Assembly. He is said to be the highest ranking official ever to defect from East Europe.

Sejna is officially charged with misappropriating $20,000 worth of state-owned seed. But far more is involved. He reportedly conspired, as a partisan of Novotny and possibly in collusion with him, in an abortive coup d'état designed to keep the Premier in power. *Mlada Fronta*, the newspaper of the Communist youth movement, disclosed that a tank division was mobilized for that purpose during a session of the Communist Central Committee last December. After the attempt was foiled, the general was protected by his superiors and allowed to escape the country.

Jan Prochazka, recently restored deputy chairman of the Writers Union, wrote ironically in its newspaper *Literarni Listy* that he regretted the flight of a figure "who could have contributed so much to the sociological study of morals." (The defection of so highly placed a military man to the U.S. imperialists certainly exposes grave moral and political rottenness at the top of the regime.)

Prochazka expressed surprise that the general was allowed to slip across the border "in the critical days when the state prosecutor had already asked for his arrest." He added that Sejna "is nothing but the top of a floating iceberg and, as we all know, nine-tenths of all icebergs are submerged under water."

For the first time since February 1948, the Czechoslovak press, radio and television are free from effective censorship and the reformers now control all the mass media. Television officials have been in the forefront of the critics of Novotny.

Sharp debates between defenders and opponents of Novotny and his Old Guard took place at many of the 67 regional and local Communist Party conferences held throughout the country March 10-11. In a major departure, most of the party meetings held secret ballots and elected new slates of officers for the party units involved.

Despite their disarray, the Novotny forces are attempting to counterattack. On March 10 one of his defenders, Martin Vaculik, leader of the Communist Party of Prague, urged the president to appear before the people and ask for an expression of confidence. Vaculik charged that he himself had been silenced in recent weeks by the press and radio. In reply the chief editor of Czechoslovak television invited him to state his views the following night on television.

The liberalizers are clearly in the ascendant and on the offensive. Thus, Jan Prochazka, one of their most trenchant spokesmen, wrote in the newspaper *Milada Fronta*, "In those days (before Dubcek's election) many people did not dare use the telephone openly and they are still not sure they can. Silent fingers reach for your correspondence. Watchful eyes follow everywhere. It was better to avoid some people because they served more than one employer.

"We have often heard the word 'democratization' in the past years and it was always described as a gift from above. It was never a real democracy. It was only an adaptation of the length of the reins."

Predominant is a determination to prevent any reversion to the old Stalinist methods.

A program of action is reportedly under consideration by the Communist Party Central Committee that would include provision for a wider role for other political parties.

The Dubcek leadership is trying to establish a new balance of forces between the government and the people which would facilitate and consolidate the shift of power from the old-line Stalinist diehards to the new team of technocrats and permit the graduated introduction and application of the proposed reforms.

But despite the refusal of the Old Guard to disarm, Dubcek appears reluctant to engage in a thoroughgoing cleanup of the apparatchiks who will not admit defeat. Meanwhile, he must keep one eye cocked on Moscow's reaction to his course and the other upon a restless population which is elated with its new-found freedom of expression.

When the gigantic statue of Stalin overlooking Prague was torn down, its base was left standing. Will this incompleted job of demolition be equally symbolic of the Dubcek regime?

. . . Rose Karsner Cannon

(Continued from Page 1)

Young, Boardman Robinson, Floyd Dell, John Sloan and others, who subsequently joined with Max Eastman to convert it into a radical-literary periodical.

The great change in Rose's political thinking, as with so many revolutionists of her generation, came with the first world war and the Russian Revolution. In the victory of the Bolsheviks she saw clearly for the first time what a Marxist party, which fearlessly and consistently applied its revolutionary principles, could be and do. That transformed her into a communist of Lenin's school — and she never thereafter deviated from that course.

Toward the end of 1920, as part of the revolutionary left wing of the Socialist Party, Rose went over to the new Communist Party of the U.S. She first met James P. Cannon in 1921 at the Unity Convention of the two rival communist groupings named the Communist Party and the United Communist Party. Cannon belonged to the central leadership of the UCP and Rose was assigned by the national office staff to take notes of the convention proceedings. This Unity Convention was held in secrecy because of the witch-hunt atmosphere unleashed by the infamous Palmer raids.

Relief Work

Subsequently Rose went to work in the national office of the newly established Friends of Soviet Russia in New York City. When the second "underground" communist convention held at Bridgman, Mich., was raided and some of the leaders arrested, Rose was put in charge of the FSR relief work and was then elected its national secretary.

"We collected food, clothing and medicine for the famine-stricken Soviet Union," she recalled. "We day can read about them in the *Labor Defender*, the official monthly organ of the ILD." In contrast to its subsequent sectarian policy, Rose emphasized that "the ILD at that time was a genuinely nonpartisan defense organization which aided all victims of the class struggle regardless of their political beliefs." This principle of defense for *all* victims of class injustice, abandoned by the Stalinists, was to be carried over into the Trotskyist movement.

The bureaucratization of the Soviet regime after Lenin's death in 1923 did not disclose its pernicious features all at once to foreign observers and sympathizers. When Rose made a visit to the Soviet Union from December 1924 to April 1925, her predominant feeling was one of harmony with a country creating a new socialist order. "I felt that when I walked down the streets of Moscow, I *belonged*," she said in 1960. "Today, I am sure I would not have that same feeling; as a Trotskyist I would be regarded as a stranger."

Despite increasing disquiet, it was not until 1928 that the reasons for the undercover difficulties in the American Communist Party became clear. Rose's flash of illumination came when she read the copy of Trotsky's Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International which J.P. Cannon smuggled out of the Soviet Union. This is her account of how she found out about the ideas of the Left Opposition:

"When Jim returned from Moscow in 1928 from the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International, he brought with him the copy of Trotsky's Criticism of the Draft Program — which he had smuggled out. This had been distributed to members of the Program Commission he served on.

CP, our chief work was one of clarifying the issues involved in our expulsion — internationalism versus Stalin's theory of socialism in one country. That took hours upon hours of discussion and recruitment was almost exclusively from the CP one by one."

In addition to combating systematic lies and slanders and watching the depressing sight of a revolution being betrayed, Rose suffered the pain of severance with long-standing friends. "It is very hard to break with old and intimate comrade-friends," she said. "However, it was not our choice. We were eager to discuss with them, but all fraternization with us was forbidden by edict from Moscow. Our attempts to reason with CP members were met by physical assault and our papers torn and thrown in our faces. They had the temporary advantage over us."

The small but resolutely determined group of pioneer Trotskyists opened headquarters on East 10th Street, New York, with a little print shop in the rear. Here *The Militant* was born and published regularly, as well as some pamphlets by Trotsky whenever finances permitted. The few forces allowed for little division of labor and much of the administrative responsibility fell on Rose's shoulders. She organized small crews of voluntary workers and got out *The Militant* with their help.

"As I look back," she said, "my task remained that of taking care of office details and organizing the work of volunteers for wrapping and mailing *The Militant*. Later on I became business manager of the paper. Then, there were funds to raise, convention arrangements and many other tasks to be taken care of — so necessary for the smooth running

SACCO (right) and VANZETTI. Rose Karsner Cannon worked for International Labor Defense which helped defend the two anarchist martyrs.

The spirit with which Rose met the contingency inspired all the women in the party, including wives of the defendants who were not party members. In a speech she made on behalf of the wives and relatives of the prisoners at the farewell banquet in New York on December 28, 1943, just before the 18 went to prison, she said:

"Comrade Dobbs told you about the solid front the 28 presented in the courtroom during the trial; how wonderful it was, and how everybody was astounded when there was not the slightest suggestion of a break in the line. It was marvelous. I was there and

and prepare the future. Noting the spectacular growth of a youth movement adhering to the Trotskyist program, she later wrote to me, "I am thrilled with today's youth and with the promise they hold for building a sane society on the road to a truly democratic society and with the profit-system abolished."

Rose did not believe that serving the cause of a socialist future need involve great sacrifices on the part of an individual. On the contrary, as she often said, "the party gives more to the individual than it takes." She felt that its grand perspectives took one

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When the Soviet situation improved after 1923, the FSR became the Workers International Relief which raised funds for hungry German workers. Its headquarters were in Chicago. The next big task Rose undertook was the defense of class-war victims both in the United States and abroad through the Internaional Labor Defense in 1925.

The International Labor Defense was launched under the direction of James P. Cannon as its national secretary. Rose was both his wife and chief assistant. "We participated in so many cases, including that of Sacco-Vanzetti, that it's not easy to enumerate them," she said. "But anyone to-

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"The mystery of how the Comintern could dare to take away the leadership from the national committee majority, elected by the convention, and give it to the minority by merely sending a cable to the convention was cleared up."

Together with Cannon, Shachtman and Abern, Rose was one of the charter members of the Left Opposition which became the Communist League of America after their expulsion from the Communist Party. The first five years of its existence from 1928 to 1933 were "real tough," she recalled. "To begin with, our numbers were very few and, as a faction of the

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Toward New Party

After Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933 without serious resistance from the German Communist Party or self-criticism by the Third International, the world Trotskyist movement set out to create the preconditions for a new international. The Communist League of America abandoned the attempt to reform the CP in favor of building an independent revolutionary party in the United States. Two major steps along this road were the fusion with the Workers Party of A. J. Muste in 1934 and the temporary entry into the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas during 1935-6. The enlarged cadres thereby gathered around the program of Trotskyism founded the Socialist Workers Party on New Year's Day 1938.

During this period, Rose for a time administered Pioneer Publishers, whose list of publications represented a big step beyond the earlier primitive efforts at pamphlet publication. In 1939-40 the party set up its own print shop for

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"We are gathered here to demonstrate and to proclaim — to demonstrate our solidarity with these men and to proclaim our intention to continue the fight where they leave off.

We Will Not Mope

"We will miss you terribly . . . but we will not sit about and mourn. We will not mope. We will carry on. We will be more active in the movement than ever before and we will continue in this work until you return. We know what you are going to prison for. We, too, believe in what you are fighting for."

James P. Cannon's letters from prison, sent to Rose and recently

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Courage

In facing the facts of life and death, after learning last year that she had cancer, Rose displayed her characteristic courage. "At age 77," she wrote me, "with a full and useful life behind me, I have little to complain about and much to be proud of. At least I did not spend my days in money-grubbing and thinking of myself first. So long as I can continue without pain and crippling effects, I intend to go along as in the past. What more can one ask for?"

Although Rose was the best known and best loved woman in the party, her own view of herself and her work was exceedingly modest. Reviewing her life, in the same letter she observed:

"Applause from audiences never had any glitter for me. Nor did any special position or post or special recognition in the party. I was satisfied to make my contributions according to my abilities. Even with the benefit of a formal education, my contributions would have been essen-

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During this period, Rose for a time administered Pioneer Publishers, whose list of publications represented a big step beyond the earlier primitive efforts at pamphlet publication. In 1939-40 the party set up its own print shop for the second time; it was equipped with two linotypes and a press. However this ambitious venture failed because of financial difficulties. "I was sent in," said Rose, "to supervise its administration and later its liquidation."

Trotsky's assassination in Mexico in 1940 and the coming of the second world war were severe tests for the Socialist Workers Party. The war pressures precipitated a split in the party in 1940 which deprived it of almost 40 percent of its members. Then, a year later, Rose's husband, James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the SWP, was convicted under the Smith Act together with 17 other SWP and Minneapolis teamster leaders for their socialist opposition to the second world war. This sequence of events imposed considerable responsibilities upon Rose.

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James P. Cannon's letters from prison, sent to Rose and recently issued in book form by Merit Publishers, give an insight into the trying experiences of those war years.

Rose's last official post at the close of World War II was similar to the one she held after World War I. She served as secretary of the American Committee for European Workers Relief because, as she said, "we could find no one else who could or would undertake responsibility for the work at that time."

In 1952, at the age of 62, Rose and Jim moved from New York to Los Angeles where they could continue to make their contributions to the movement at a slower pace and in a more beneficent climate. Although Rose missed the dynamism of the party center in New York, she recognized that it was proper for younger people to take over the leadership posts

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Rose's self-estimate was far too modest. The revolutionary struggle demands so much determination, devotion and stamina that a decade or two is a good span of service for the average militant. Rose was exceptional. From 18 to 78, for six decades, she persisted in her dedicated work for a socialist America. She exemplified the finest qualities of a revolutionary Marxist.

Black Liberation Notes

Last week was "LeRoi Jones Week" in many cities around the country. In New York a series of defense activities, including dramatic presentations of Jones' poetry and numerous smaller poetry readings, was climaxed by a meeting at Town Hall.

In Los Angeles a benefit party was held to raise money for the defense, and in Philadelphia, Jones' play, "The Dutchman," was produced. Other activities were scheduled in Chicago and San Francisco. At Yale University $1,000 was raised at a meeting where Jones spoke.

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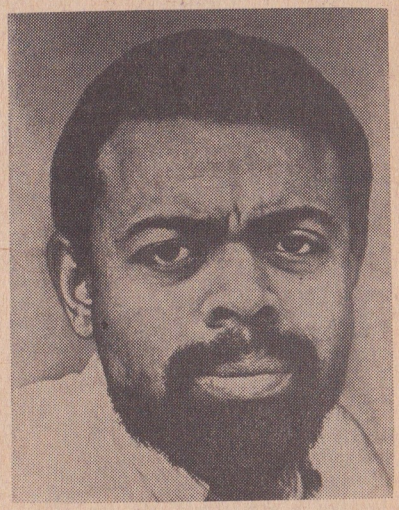
The March 19 issue of *Look* magazine has reprinted word-for-word excerpts from a diary kept by a black GI fighting in Vietnam. The diary gives detailed descriptions of the war, including accounts of how black soldiers are fingered for the most hazardous and dirty jobs. Here are some sample quotes:

"March 1—I think I'm getting a little too casual about death. And I'm wondering if some of our fellows aren't trigger-happy. This morning, we were out on patrol with an ARVN [Army of the Republic of Vietnam] unit when we spotted a guy about 40 years old sitting inside the treeline. The ARVN sergeant tried to question him, but the guy tried to get away. The ARVN just gunned him down with his carbine; I don't even remember that he told him to halt. The guy's guts were spilling into the mud. His legs were torn off. It was so awful I couldn't react...



LeRoi Jones

"March 2—I'm not sure the native people are with us. They smile at us in the daytime, and their sons shoot us at night...

"April 4—Then some of the guys have been mutilating the VC bodies like they claim Charlie does. I've seen some of them wearing a pair of VC ears around their necks on a string.

"I've heard others were cutting off privates. 'Higher up' has ordered our company out of this area. It seems the villagers complained about our company's looting and burning their homes. They are right to a great extent.

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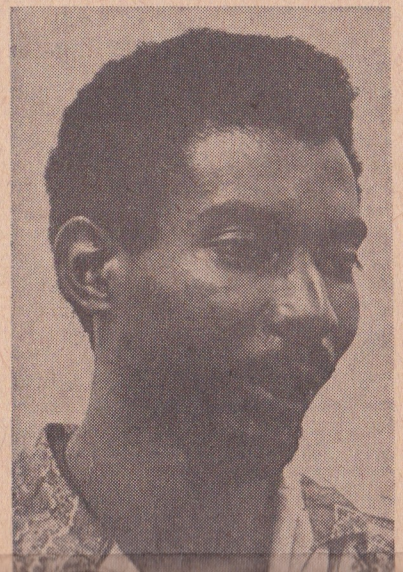
Anti-Riot Law Contested By 'TSU Five' Defendant

HOUSTON — The trial of the "TSU Five," scheduled to begin on March 4, has been postponed as a result of moves by attorneys for both the prosecution and the defense. The "TSU Five" are five Afro-American students who were framed up on charges of felonious rioting and murder in the wake of last spring's police attack on Texas Southern University.

On March 4 Benjamin E. Smith, a prominent New Orleans civil rights attorney, and Bobby Caldwell, Houston civil rights attorney, filed suit with the U.S. District Court on behalf of Floyd Nichols, one of the five defendants. The suit seeks to restrain the state from prosecuting Nichols.

The defense maintains that the so-called antiriot law under which the defendants were indicted is unconstitutional. The law, Article 486 of the Texas penal code, violates the defendant's rights under the 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th and 14th amendments of the U.S. Constitution. In addition, attorneys Smith and Caldwell stated that Floyd Nichols was miles away from the campus of TSU at the time the alleged criminal act took place.



Judge James Noel granted the request for a temporary injunction pending a three-judge hearing on the constitutionality of Article 486. A date for the hearing has not been set.

The question of the constitutionality of Article 486 is viewed here as the central question in determining whether the prosecution will be able to bring the defendants to trial.

In another legal move on March 4, District Attorney Caroll Vance and the president of the Harris County Bar Association, Harry Patterson, filed separate motions for a change in venue in the TSU Five case. A change of venue means changing the place where the trial is held. The move on the part of Bar Association President Patterson is unprecedented. Both Vance and Patterson say that the "great amount of publicity" and "high public feeling" surrounding the case justify a change of venue. They want to move the trial away from Houston, which has a large black community.

The speculation here is that they will seek a change of venue to rural East Texas, the heart of the so-called Bible belt. Defense Attorney Raymond A. Brown, who is representing Charles Freeman, the student whose trial was scheduled to begin March 4, has opposed the change of venue. Moreover he charges that the Bar Association has no right to act either for the state or the com-

King's March on D.C.

Black Liberation Notes

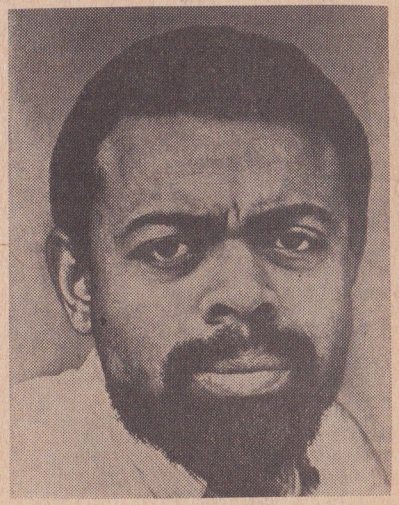
Last week was "LeRoi Jones Week" in many cities around the country. In New York a series of defense activities, including dramatic presentations of Jones' poetry and numerous smaller poetry readings, was climaxed by a meeting at Town Hall.

In Los Angeles a benefit party was held to raise money for the defense, and in Philadelphia, Jones' play, "The Dutchman," was produced. Other activities were scheduled in Chicago and San Francisco. At Yale University $1,000 was raised at a meeting where Jones spoke.

•

The March 19 issue of *Look* magazine has reprinted word-for-word excerpts from a diary kept by a black GI fighting in Vietnam. The diary gives detailed descriptions of the war, including accounts of how black soldiers are fingered for the most hazardous and dirty jobs. Here are some sample quotes:

"March 1—I think I'm getting a little too casual about death. And I'm wondering if some of our fellows aren't trigger-happy. This morning, we were out on patrol with an ARVN [Army of the Republic of Vietnam] unit when we spotted a guy about 40 years old sitting inside the treeline. The ARVN sergeant tried to question him, but the guy tried to get away. The ARVN just gunned him down with his carbine; I don't even remember that he told him to halt. The guy's guts were spilling into the mud. His legs were torn off. It was so awful I couldn't react...



LeRoi Jones

"March 2—I'm not sure the native people are with us. They smile at us in the daytime, and their sons shoot us at night...

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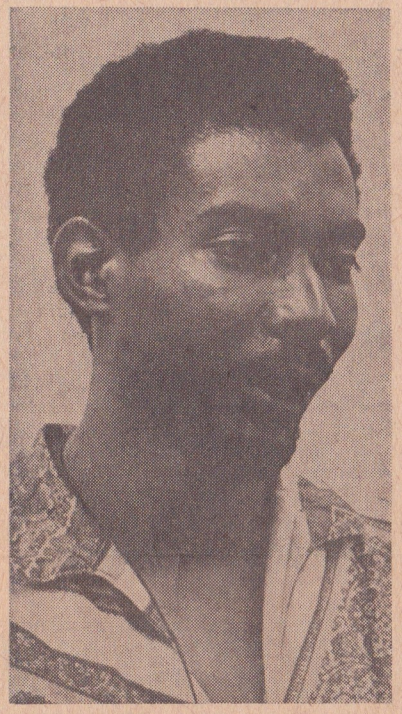

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Hearings on the motion for a change of venue were set by Judge Wendell A. Odum for March 24.

King's March on D.C. Picks Up Momentum

By Elizabeth Barnes

Martin Luther King's "Poor People's March on Washington" is beginning to gain some momentum. A coordinating office has been opened in the capital, and organizers are going into the black nation to respond to nonviolence before the summer threat of more riots."

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Martin Luther King's "Poor People's March on Washington" is beginning to gain some momentum. A coordinating office has been opened in the capital, and organizers are going into the black community in Washington and elsewhere to enlist volunteers to take part in the campaign. Many of the demonstrators are reportedly being trained in "passive resistance" techniques.

King has been traveling around the country making speeches calling on people to join the march. He has announced that April 22 will be the date when thousands of people, traveling by foot and bus, will begin to converge on Washington from all over the country. Once in Washington, the demonstrators will take part in what King calls a mass "lobby-in." The goal will be to get congressional legislation granting full employment, a guaranteed annual income, and at least 500,000 new low-income housing units. If no response from the government is forthcoming, King has said "we will escalate our methods, using disruptive measures only as a last resort."

It is significant that the "Poor People's March" will be a protest against the Vietnam war as well as a plea for congressional action against poverty. At a news conference in Washington, King called for a simultaneous ending of the war and opening of a "bloodless war" against racism and poverty. "I don't think the two matters can be separated as some people continue to feel," he said.

The fact that King is carrying out these demonstrations during an election year is an indication of the pressure he feels as a result of the radicalization of the black community. He has called his march "a desperate plea for the nation to respond to nonviolence before the summer threat of more riots."

During the presidential election period in 1964 King joined with other black leaders in a call for a moratorium on street demonstrations. Their slogan was "move the civil rights movement from the streets into the ballot box." The threat of Goldwaterism was held up as the reason for concentrating on getting out the black vote for Johnson.

This year King's March on Washington is being criticized not only by authorities in Washington but by many of his former allies in other civil rights campaigns. Bayard Rustin, who was one of the main organizers of the 1963 March on Washington, has cautioned King against the Poor People's March and is doing nothing to help organize it. The NAACP and the Urban League are opposed to the demonstration because, as *Jet* magazine put it, they believe that "the stakes are too great in a presidential election year, and such a demonstration would add woes to a President who has tried to do something."

President Johnson is also aware of the fact that the demonstration would be to his disadvantage and would further expose his do-nothing policies. At a news conference Feb. 2 he said of the march, "I would hope that our (sic) energies, our talents and our concerns could be directed in a more productive and a more effective manner."

Washington authorities are clearly afraid of what could happen when large masses of black people gather in Washington, only to be met by a Congress which is deaf to their demands. At military bases near Washington 7,000 troops are being trained in "riot control."

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Detroit Newspaper Strike Deepens in Fourth Month

By Sarah Lovell

DETROIT, March 10 — The contending sides in the newspaper shutdown here — the men and women of the newspaper unions vs. their employers, the publishers of the *Detroit News* and the *Detroit Free Press* — are girding for battle in the four-month-old strike and lockout of the papers.

Two more unions, the Pressmen and the Typographers, joined the Teamsters and the Photo-Engravers in strike action at the *News* and the *Free Press* this past week. The Pressmen went on strike at the *Free Press* on Wednesday, March 6, and the *News* on the following Friday. On the same Friday the members of the Typographical union voted overwhelmingly, 441 to 16, to authorize strike action.

The strategy of the publishers to force a settlement on the Teamsters and then to use this to coerce the other unions into a settlement on the same terms was given an assist this week by Mayor Jerome P. Cavanagh. He asked that the publishers and the officials of the Teamsters union meet with him to consider a proposal to end the strike. Whatever the proposal was that was made at this meeting last Wednesday, the result of the subsequent negotiations between the officials of the Teamsters union and the publishers was nothing new — simply a proposal for a replay of what had transpired before.

The striking Teamsters at the *News* are being asked to vote on a publishers' offer they have twice rejected, a $30 weekly wage increase over a three-year period in a three-year contract. The offer is dressed up with two "concessions" by the publishers, small technicalities that don't cost the publishers anything: a change in the markup of the next-week work schedule from Saturday to Friday and the allocation of a surplus of a Teamsters' fund into the payment of their hospitalization.

The vote will be conducted by mail this week, a ballot sent to each teamster at his home, as was done in the previous votes.

Once again, the TV and radio news programs report that an agreement has been reached, giving the impression that there is a settlement of the strike. This "settlement" may very well be unsettled by the vote of the teamsters. The publishers hope the onus for the continuing newspaper blackout will then be placed on the striking Teamsters.

Mayor Cavanagh says he is concerned about the absence of newspapers in Detroit because "wildly irresponsible rumors" are being circulated about an impending racial war in the city and "what may happen next summer." He says the city needs the newspapers to dispel these rumors and to give the facts.

He did not question the publishers' seeming indifference about the shutdown, the publishers' refusal to seriously negotiate with all the newspaper unions, the "rumor" that the publishers have strike insurance. There were other Detroit daily newspapers published earlier in the strike, called interim papers, but these were closed down by action of the Teamsters Union.

Recent efforts of the Newspaper Guild to publish a strike newspaper in conjunction with all the unions have been hindered by refusal of the Teamsters officials to cooperate. A prevalent view of this attitude of the Teamsters officials is that they do this to mollify the publishers, that the publishers are behind the Teamster refusal. Mayor Cavanagh has not pursued this line of inquiry.

Although the general public may think the situation is settled, the newspaper workers aren't laying any bets that the Teamster rank and file will accept the latest "new" offer. Whether the Teamsters do or do not accept it, there will be no newspapers published in Detroit without the agreement of the workers of all the unions, and this agreement will not come until the publishers grant the demands of these workers.

The Council of Newspaper Unions is out to defeat the publishers' "divide and rule" tactics and "is prepared and determined to negotiate the established wage-fringe pattern" which has been obtained by the unions in major cities across the country.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Torture in Greece

New York, N.Y.

The following letter came into our hands recently. It was smuggled from Greece by the new resistance. It supports the report recently given by Amnesty International (Great Britain) to the UN.

"I repeat once more. Expose what is happening at Dionyson-Attiki. Its existence was confirmed by the government at the trials of October 22, 1967. The prisoners in that place are hung from hooks with handcuffs. They are hosed. They are pierced with needles. Their hair is pulled out.

"Prisoner L was paralyzed for four days after a day of 'hanging.' Angry dogs are sometimes released into the cells. The prisoners are sometimes thrown around as if they were balls. The Gestapo is nothing compared to what has been going on. Some specifics.

"Prisoner S has a beard now that reaches to his stomach and is insane. Prisoner T says that everything he admitted to while at Dionyson is the result of unbearable torture. Prisoner B says that he was no sooner 'unhanged' then Prisoner M was put in his place. At nights they open the cells and released dogs. Prisoner K is in isolation and in critical condition. Why is nothing being done about this?"

Dan Georgakas and Costas Stergriou
Co-chairmen, Democratia (incorporating Ritsos-Theodorakis Committee)
Box 678, Stuyvesant Station
New York, N.Y. 10009

Red Paint in Britain

Sussex, England

Demonstrating students at Sussex University threw blood-red I turn with particular enjoyment to "The Great Society" column.

The on-going ludicrous aspects and antics of our "civilized" world and its "eminent" leaders are served up in delightful little sharp and succinct news items.

Keep them coming — they're great!

M.B.

A Criticism

Los Angeles, Calif.

Your series of articles about the Peace and Freedom Party [see "Politics of 'Third Camp'" by Tom Kerry, Feb. 26 *Militant*.] are a bit disappointing — nothing but an excuse to chop old political enemies. How about some meaningful, in-depth comments on the PFP, making use of political perspective which usually shows much depth and wisdom.

Or call the series what it really is; but don't insult yourselves or readers by this sort of shallow glossing over.

It would be disappointing to see the people who caught the left and the blacks with their pants down — about Malcolm X, Vietnam, and the Cuban Revolution — show interest in PFP on such a shallow level.

Surely you must have meaningful information and criticism on the Peace and Freedom Party and people instead of what you have been printing — or don't print it at all. Better still . . . do it well!

M.S.

A Compliment

Madison, Wis.

The juxtaposition of the Fourth International statement on Vietnam wih Tom Kerry's incisive article on the "Third Camp" in the Feb. 26 *Militant* was beautiful. For me, personally, it recalled how my own disaffection from the third camp began when I attended a series of lectures by Kerry in Minneapolis a little over a year ago.

As Kerry wrote, the "distinguishing feature of the 'third camp' itself is its amorphous and diffuse character." This fact explains why, as well as the extreme right-wing socialists Kerry correctly labeled as "shamefaced supporters in the camp of U.S. imperialism" — Irving Howe, the *Dissent* crew, the Socialist Party — there are also grouped beneath the meaningless rubric of "Third Camp" some small clusters of individuals whose line on the war, if nearly as confused, is a bit more principled.

Those Third Campers grouped around Hal Draper in Berkeley advocate immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and elsewhere in the world, simply on the basis of opposition to imperialism and support of the right of self-determination. The problem with the "Draperites" is their stand (or limp?) on the National Liberation Front, based on Draper's agonized analysis of the NLF and other such movements as creatures of the "totalitarian" communist governments, making them into agents of subtle "red imperialism."

It is interesting to note, however, that one of the Draperite internal discussion bulletins last year contained an article by a Charles Leinenweber (Berkeley) which argued that the Third Camp must abandon the practice of condemning every real revolutionary movement in the world as "Stalinist" . . . must either abandon this practice or accept perpetual irrelevancy. Leinenweber argued for support of the NLF. I think if we realize that, in order to do what Leinenweber wants, the Third Camp would have to chuck out its whole inadequate analysis of extant workers' states, we can agree that the Third Camp must either cease to be the Third Camp or continue to be irrelevant to the struggle for socialism in the United States and the whole world.

Lee Warren Smith
Member, Young Socialists For Halstead and Boutelle

Well-Wisher

Whitewater, Wis.

I enjoy the paper very much. I only wish the truth could reach many more people. Perhaps then we could really gain a choice of systems.

G.S.

Thought for the Week

"The time has come to abandon this bankrupt policy. The American people have been pushed beyond the limits of gullibility."
—Editorial on the Vietnam war in the March 11 *New York Times*.

Weekly Calendar

The Great Society

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Demonstrating students at Sussex University threw blood-red paint over an American Embassy official and penned him into a university building Feb. 21 until police reinforcements arrived.

When the American official eventually was driven off campus by the police, American students burned the American flag as the car passed.

The previous day, two-thirds of the audience attending a three-day teach-in on Vietnam gave a prolonged standing ovation to Mrs. Linhgui, a journalist from North Vietnam.

When he was pelted with paint, the U.S. official was surrounded by 75 students who had cornered him after a long chase; the flag-burning was attended by 250 students, who waited for the official to appear from his hiding place in a school toilet.

University of Sussex officials and the press are attempting to blame the incident on one or two (to quote the U.S. official) "unkempt agitator types." They have taken up the line put out by the U.S. Embassy: "I realize that this is not representative of the uni-

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LOS ANGELES

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR ROSE KARSNER CANNON. Sunday, **March 24**, 3 p.m. Channing Hall, **2936 W. Eighth St.**

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* * *

BIWEEKLY RADIO COMMENTARY

The Great Society

Quantitative Change — While crisscrossing New Hampshire for votes in the Presidential primary, Richard Nixon had a run-in with a skunk. Reliable sources indicate that the odor surrounding Nixon isn't really different — it's just more so.

Such Popularity — The inventor of the "Hostility" dart board game, Robert Cenedella, reports that Johnson dart boards are outselling all the others by a wide margin. Of the total 50,000 boards sold so far, 30,000 bear LBJ's picture.

The Apartment — Rand Development Corporation, whose executive vice president is a "former money-raiser for Vice President Humphrey," is including rent of a New York apartment (which, with "other expenses," totals $9,710.39) as part of its overhead charges for the year on contracts with the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and Office of Coal Research. Rand, which also has a contract with the CIA, says that the two-bedroom, two-bath pad on New York's posh

New Décor for Libraries — A UPI dispatch from Buenos Aires, reporting the machine-gunning of the "cultural center" of the U.S. Information Service in Rosario by opponents of the Vietnam war, reveals: "A steel curtain protecting the library reading room was punctured."

The Reason — For those of you who may have wondered why Liz Taylor and Richard Burton had to charter the Patiño yacht for the London sojourn of their four pet dogs, we have just learned that the Burton yacht is presently in drydock at Marseilles being redecorated — at a cost of about $120,000. The three main staterooms will be in Regency style, the main bedroom all in canary yellow, and push buttons from any room will operate the yacht-wide stereo system.

More Double Talk — LBJ's stunt man, Hustling Hubert, recently told a Midwestern regional Democratic conference: "Where war and peace are concerned, the American people have the right to a full and clear expression of views." So that's why Dean Rusk refused for more than two years to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to explain the administration's Vietnam policy.

It Makes Sense — An Ohio butcher workmen's union newsletter offers a counterproposal to LBJ's travel tax to close the "tourist gap." They propose a limit on the amount of spending abroad, to be called the "armed forces gap," and suggest that "we have no more armed forces in other countries than they have in ours" — and that "we begin taking care of this deficit by bringing our boys home from Vietnam."

—Ruth Porter

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Report and evaluation from participants in the PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY CONVENTION. Friday, March 22, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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BIWEEKLY RADIO COMMENTARY over KPFK (90.6 FM) by Theodore Edwards, So. Calif. chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Monday, March 25 and April 10 at 6:45 p.m.; repeated Tuesday, March 26 and April 11 at 9:45 a.m.

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NEW YORK

MEMORIAL MEETING FOR ROSE KARSNER CANNON. Sunday, March 17, 2:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St.

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JULIAN MAYFIELD, novelist, journalist, former aide to Kwame N'Krumah, appointed to the Schweitzer Program of the Humanities at NYU for lectures on Afro-American and African literature, will speak on THE REVOLUTIONARY IMPERATIVE IN THE U.S. Friday, March 22, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, near 18th St. Contrib. $1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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TWIN CITIES

BLACK NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM IN THE 1968 ELECTION. Speaker: Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President. Saturday, March 23, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240, Minneapolis. Ausp. Twin Cities Socialist Forum.

Demonstrating students at Sussex University threw blood-red paint over an American Embassy official and penned him into a university building Feb. 21 until police reinforcements arrived.

When the American official eventually was driven off campus by the police, American students burned the American flag as the car passed.

The previous day, two-thirds of the audience attending a three-day teach-in on Vietnam gave a prolonged standing ovation to Mrs. Linhgui, a journalist from North Vietnam.

When he was pelted with paint, the U.S. official was surrounded by 75 students who had cornered him after a long chase; the flag-burning was attended by 250 students, who waited for the official to appear from his hiding place in a school toilet.

University of Sussex officials and the press are attempting to blame the incident on one or two (to quote the U.S. official) "unkempt agitator types." They have taken up the line put out by the U.S. Embassy: "I realize that this is not representative of the university and I feel sorry that it is going to get a bad name."

On Feb. 26 the vice-chancellor threw out two students until the end of the term for being in the demonstration. They had no trial — they were just informed of the decision, based on hearsay evidence.

Furthermore, the students were told that they would be completely expelled if they made any statements in their defense on or off campus, in meetings or to the press, during their period of suspension! And that they would be expelled if they were suspected of having aided other students to defend them.

Reader

"Great Society" Fan

New York, N.Y.

Although I am a regular reader of *The Militant* and find its comment on national and world affairs penetrating and stimulating,

Quantitative Change — While crisscrossing New Hampshire for votes in the Presidential primary, Richard Nixon had a run-in with a skunk. Reliable sources indicate that the odor surrounding Nixon isn't really different — it's just more so.

Such Popularity — The inventor of the "Hostility" dart board game, Robert Cenedella, reports that Johnson dart boards are outselling all the others by a wide margin. Of the total 50,000 boards sold so far, 30,000 bear LBJ's picture.

The Apartment — Rand Development Corporation, whose executive vice president is a "former money-raiser for Vice President Humphrey," is including rent of a New York apartment (which, with "other expenses," totals $9,710.39) as part of its overhead charges for the year on contracts with the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration and Office of Coal Research. Rand, which also has a contract with the CIA, says that the two-bedroom, two-bath pad on New York's posh Sutton Place was used instead of hotel rooms to accommodate not only its own officers but also federal employes — one "as high as an Assistant Secretary of State."

Wages of Finkery — About the time the British pound was being devalued, two office workers made international news by announcing that they would work a half-hour overtime each day without pay to help Britain's economy. Just six weeks after launching their "Back Britain" campaign, both girls were fired. Company spokesman said they were "in excess of our requirements."

Minor Annoyances — Thailand's Deputy Premier Gen. Praphas Charusathiara, who favors invading North Vietnam, said that the allied war effort was being hampered by having "to pay so much attention to such things like the United Nations Charter, the Geneva Convention and Human Rights Declaration."

New Décor for Libraries — A UPI dispatch from Buenos Aires, reporting the machine-gunning of the "cultural center" of the U.S. Information Service in Rosario by opponents of the Vietnam war, reveals: "A steel curtain protecting the library reading room was punctured."

The Reason — For those of you who may have wondered why Liz Taylor and Richard Burton had to charter the Patiño yacht for the London sojourn of their four pet dogs, we have just learned that the Burton yacht is presently in drydock at Marseilles being redecorated — at a cost of about $120,000. The three main staterooms will be in Regency style, the main bedroom all in canary yellow, and push buttons from any room will operate the yacht-wide stereo system.

More Double Talk — LBJ's stunt man, Hustling Hubert, recently told a Midwestern regional Democratic conference: "Where war and peace are concerned, the American people have the right to a full and clear expression of views." So that's why Dean Rusk refused for more than two years to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to explain the administration's Vietnam policy.

It Makes Sense — An Ohio butcher workmen's union newsletter offers a counterproposal to LBJ's travel tax to close the "tourist gap." They propose a limit on the amount of spending abroad, to be called the "armed forces gap," and suggest that "we have no more armed forces in other countries than they have in ours" — and that "we begin taking care of this deficit by bringing our boys home from Vietnam."

—Ruth Porter

New Readers

If you would like to be sure of receiving every issue containing Harry Ring's special on-the-spot series from Cuba, order an introductory four-month subscription now. In addition, you will receive FREE a copy of the November-December 1967 issue of the International Socialist Review containing Fidel Castro's speech at the OLAS conference held in Cuba last summer, and the general declaration issued by OLAS. Send this coupon and $1 to

THE MILITANT

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Antiwar Sentiment Is Deep At Ft. Jackson Army Base

By Nelson Blackstock

COLUMBIA, S.C., March 3 — Fort Jackson here has seen what may be the most significant expression of antiwar sentiment among GIs since the beginning of the Vietnam war. For the third consecutive Tuesday, GIs at Fort Jackson this past week have been turned away in their attempt to enter the base chapel in order to express their feelings about the war in Vietnam.

As on two previous Tuesday evenings, all entrances to the post have been sealed off and the chapel surrounded by MPs armed with riot equipment. The chapel and the area around it, normally well-lighted, were reported darkened every night since the original incident on Feb. 13. Army regulations state that the interfaith chapel must be available for use 24 hours a day. At least several of the GIs are intent on continuing to demand their right to use the chapel, I found out on a trip here this weekend.

The present developments date back to the time in early February when a group of soldiers hit upon the idea of using the chapel to hold a meditation for those wishing to express their doubts about the war. When they delegated Spec. 4 Martin Blumsack to request official permission to use the chapel, he was informed that the chapel was open to soldiers at any time, and that permission was not required.

After the GIs had distributed a leaflet and word of the meeting when time for the meeting arrived about 25 GIs showed up to find the chapel locked and the surrounding area filled with MPs. Blumsack came forward flanked by two MPs and mechanically announced as he had been ordered, "Permission to use this chapel or any other building on post has been denied."

When two basic trainees, named Rosenberg and Rivera, stepped forward and began to protest, they were taken into custody by the MPs. At that point, two more soldiers, Pfc. Robert Tatar and Pfc. Stephen Kline, knelt down before the chapel and began their meditation. When they were ordered to leave the area by the MPs, they refused and were taken into custody also.

Pfc. David Stanley, who had come to the meeting as a result of receiving one of the leaflets, was detained by MPs because he failed to move out of the chapel area fast enough.

Within the next two days, the army filed charges against four GIs. Tatar and Kline were charged with disorderly conduct and failure to obey the direct order of a superior. Stanley was charged with Article 134, which is action tending to discredit the armed forces of the United States, and carries severe penalty. Rivera was given an Article 15 (nonjudicial punishment) and received a 45-day restriction and $90 reduction in pay.

After Tatar, Kline and Stanley secured the services of ACLU lawyer Charles Morgan, all charges against them were feared a repetition of the unfavorable publicity surrounding the Levy case.

David Stanley has since been ordered by a superior "not to participate in any meetings or gatherings whose purpose is to question the mission of the United States Army." Both military and civilian lawyers believe this is an illegal order, which violates Stanley's constitutional rights.

The following Tuesday evening, Feb. 20, the Army placed all known participants in the previous week's activities on restriction or gave them special work duties. Nevertheless, a number of unidentified GIs approached the darkened chapel and once again attempted to hold a meeting. The entrance to the door was blocked and they were informed by MPs that the chapel was closed and were ordered to move on.

By the third Tuesday, Tatar and Kline were off restriction and the charges had been dropped by the Army. They felt that this might be an indication that the brass intended to permit use of the chapel. However, when the two attempted to enter the chapel MPs once again informed them that the chapel was closed.

The Universiy of South Carolina is in Columbia. Some of the students organized a meditation in support of the GIs. They wanted to have a meeting and invite GIs to attend, but the university has a ruling against nonstudents on campus, which would place any soldiers attending in danger of being arrested.

Photo by Nelson Blackstock

DOUBTS ABOUT WAR. Pfc. Robert Tatar (left) and Pfc. David Stanley.

of these men are typical GIs, who have had no contact with the organized antiwar movement or the more complex arguments against the war. Rather, they are like the majority of GIs who haven't been convinced the war is in their interests, and do not want to go to Vietnam.

One of these men said he was confused and had doubts about the war when he enlisted in the Army 17 months ago. These doubts were reinforced by discussion with soldiers who had been to Vietnam and those who were about to go.

Last year he heard about the case of Pfc. Howard Petrick and felt that Petrick was innocent of any crime. When he heard the Petrick Defense Committee was looking for statements of support, he wrote a letter expressing his views.

Free Speech

He now feels that the GIs at Fort Jackson face the same sort of situation as Howard Petrick, plained the punishment that Rosenberg was receiving, with the implicit warning that a similar punishment would be waiting for any other soldier who attended a "forbidden meeting." However, most of the men surrounding this black GI appeared to be in sympathy with Rosenberg.

Another GI reported a total lack of enthusiasm about the war. "Nobody wants to go or feels that we are there for a good reason," he said.

The actions of the GIs at Fort Jackson have placed the brass on the defensive. The demand to use the chapel is perfectly legal and the Army's refusal is a violation of the GIs constitutional rights of freedom of speech and freedom of religion.

All the GIs this reporter talked to were agreed that if the majority of GIs at Fort Jackson are not conscious opponents of the war, they at least have more than a few questions and doubts about it. The number of all-out supporters of the war is extremely small.

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The total number of GIs involved in the meditation attempts would be difficult to determine. One gets the impression that most of these men are typical GIs, who have had no contact with the organized antiwar movement or the more complex arguments against the war. Rather, they are like the majority of GIs who haven't been convinced the war is in their interests, and do not want to go to Vietnam.

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For two days prior to the first meditation attempt, the local radio and press were announcing that the meeting had been called off. When the time for the meeting arrived, the chapel area was blacked out, surrounded by MPs and a huge police van was parked

L.A. Mexican-American Students

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L.A. Mexican-American Students Strike Against Low Level Schools

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, March 9—With cries of "Chicano [Mexican-American] Power," a high school student strike on Los Angeles' East Side, which is predominantly Mexican American, has spread from Wilson High where it began on March 1 to Garfield, Roosevelt, Lincoln and Belmont high schools.

The strike also spread to Jefferson High in the black ghetto and by yesterday the school was closed down, with teachers boycotting their jobs because of strike conditions.

School and social conditions are so bad in the East Los Angeles barrios that there are more high school dropouts here than in the black ghetto. Horace Quinones, a neighborhood minister, said the dropout rate at Wilson High is 60 percent.

The students say they are being shoved out of school by indifferent and inferior education. They are angry about the denigration of their Mexican culture by the predominantly Anglo teachers and the white middle-class orientation of the textbooks. They want bilingual teachers and classes on Mexican history. They want Mexican food in the cafeterias. Student signs said, "Education, Not Eradication," "Education and Justice," "We Demand Schools That *Teach*," and "Mexican American Liberation."

The students also resent being locked behind chain link fences, even during the noon hour, so that they cannot go home for lunch. They want elimination of restrictions on dress and hair styles. They want classes reduced from the present high of around 40, and they want more counselors.

Students at Jefferson High demanded a black administrator, and school board member Rev. James E. Jones, a black man, promised on March 7, "By Monday you will have a black administrator at Jefferson High." However, there was no indication the Board of Education would support this commitment.

Open City, an underground newspaper, estimated that 5,000 students had walked out in the first days of the strike, with the Wilson High students symbolically holding one shoe high as they fought their way out. A student reported:

"When the cops came they really ran through the school. They threw any kids they found up against a wall or against lockers in the hall." These police attacks on the children were also shown in television newscasts.

Two police cars were stoned March 7 when they arrived at Belmont High as students were urged to walk out. Officers with riot sticks ordered all youths back into their classrooms.

By March 8 at least 1,500 East Side students met at Hazard Park and presented their demands to Board of Education members.

At least 19 high school and junior high students and several young adults have been arrested during the strike, including college students of the United Mexican American Students and members of the militant Mexican American defense organization, the Brown Berets.

Students reacted angrily when television newsmen suggested that outside influences had organized the strike. A Garfield High student leader shouted, "We have our own organization, our own Garfield Strike Committee! And the motivations for the strike are right here on this campus. Wipe out the reasons behind the big dropout rate and you'll wipe out the reasons behind this strike!"

Some indication of motivations behind the student strike came from Raul Ruiz, an alumnus of Lincoln High who is now a graduate student in Latin American studies at Cal State and a member of the United Mexican American Students.

"Lincoln High has inadequate and unsafe conditions," Ruiz said. "Three major buildings there have been condemned. There's a complete lack of academic atmosphere, it's like a factory, it's ugly.

"Lincoln has 3,000 students but the cafeteria seats only 200. During the noon lunch period the buildings are closed and locked, including the restrooms. The students go outside to eat but there is no roofed area for protection and when it rains they get *wet*, there's no alternative.

"Over half the students at Lincoln study industrial arts but the program is about 50 years behind the times. They can't even turn out a good mechanic. All they do is turn out functional illiterates."

He now feels that the GIs at Fort Jackson face the same sort of situation as Howard Petrick. The Army is attempting to prevent them from exercising their right to free speech.

When the idea of using the chapel came up, he felt that he had found a way that he and other GIs could express their feelings about the war without fear of repercussions. The fact that it was legal would permit maximum participation by all those concerned about the war.

This GI feels that the Army has shown it has something to hide by refusing to permit the soldiers to exercise their constitutional rights. Most of the GIs whom he works with have expressed sympathy. They are friendly and have asked him questions about the incident.

It seems that none of the other men involved have experienced any signs of hostility from their fellow GIs. He believes this is an important sign, an indication of how few GIs have been sold on the war.

Encouraged

The GIs were very encouraged by the responses they received from their fellow soldiers when they began leafleting. Most guys seemed to think the idea of the meeting was a good one. They would read the leaflet and say, "I'll be there."

They passed out most of the leaflets in downtown Columbia, where GIs catch the bus back to Fort Jackson. Students at the University of South Carolina assisted the GIs distributing the leaflets.

A black GI who is in Rosenberg's company reports an interesting incident. On the Wednesday morning following the original meditation attempt, the First Sergeant called Rosenberg out in front of the company. The Sergeant said, "Come here, you peacenik . . . This is a hippy." Then the sergeant explained to the company what Rosenberg had done. He had left KP — "the line of duty" — to go to a "forbidden meeting." The sergeant then